

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01
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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8175
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PORT LOUIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 1323

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORF SF WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: APPROACH TO SWAPO ON SECURITY
COUNCIL STRATEGY

REF: USUN NEW YORK 1401

1. SUMMARY: SWAPO OFFICIALS (VICE PRESIDENT MUYONGO
AND SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS MUESHIHANGE) EXPRESS
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EXTREME DISCONTENT OVER CG TAKING ITS PROPOSALS TO
SECURITY COUNCIL. THIS ACTION IS SEEN AS AN ATTEMPT
TO THWART UNGA SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA AND A MOVE
TO IMPOSE THE PROPOSALS ON SWAPO. SOUTH AFRICA HAS NO
INTENTION OF FOLLOWING ANY COURSE OTHER THAN AN INTERNAL

SOLUTION. WESTERN FIVE HAVE BEEN WORKING FOR SOUTH

AFRICA'S INTERESTS ALL ALONG. THERE IS NO WAY THAT SWAPO WILL ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS IF IT DOES NOT HAVE IRON CLAD GUARANTEES THAT WEST SUPPORTS NAMIBIA'S CLAIM TO WALVIS BAY. END SUMMARY.

2. FIVE REPRESENTATIVES OF LOCAL CONTACT GROUP MET WITH MUYONGO AND MUESHIHANGE EVENING OF APRIL 14. IT RAPIDLY BECAME APPARENT THAT TAKING THE PROPOSALS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAD AWAKENED SWAPO'S UNDERLYING SUSPICIONS OF THE WEST'S TRUE INTENTIONS.

3. WITH SOME BITTERNESS MUYONGO ASKED WHY WE WERE TAKING SUCH PRECIPITOUS ACTION. WHY HAD WE NOT WAITED UNTIL SWAPO HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO RESPOND TO OUR PROPOSALS? HE REJECTED OUT OF HAND OUR ARGUMENTS THAT THERE WAS NEED TO PRESS AHEAD IF WE WERE TO AVOID AN INTERNAL SOLUTION IN NAMIBIA. SOUTH AFRICA, HE SAID, WAS DETERMINED IN ANY EVENT TO PUT INTO EFFECT A TURNHALLE-TYPE SOLUTION. WHAT WE WERE DOING WAS ATTEMPTING TO PRESSURE SWAPO AND NOT SOUTH AFRICA AS WE HAD SAID. WHY HAD WE NOT WAITED FOR THE UNGA SPECIAL SESSION BEFORE GOING TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL? HE WAS NOT IMPRESSED BY ARGUMENTS THAT RESULTS OF SECURITY COUNCIL DELIBERATIONS COULD PROVIDE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WITH SOMETHING OF SUBSTANCE TO DEAL WITH. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WOULD, HE ARGUED, GENERATE GOOD IDEAS
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THAT SHOULD THEN BE TAKEN UP BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE SC SHOULD BE GUIDED BY RESOLUTION COMING FROM THE SPECIAL SESSION. AT ONE POINT, MUYONGO ACCUSED THE FIVE OF ATTEMPTING CANCEL THE SPECIAL SESSION ALTOGETHER.

4. BY CALLING FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN OUR PROPOSED RESOLUTION, WE WERE ATTEMPTING TO IMPOSE THE PROPOSALS ON SWAPO. A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WAS MAJOR FACTOR IN THE PROPOSALS AND SECURITY COUNCIL ACCEPTANCE OF HIS APPOINTMENT WOULD BE A STEP IN THAT DIRECTION. SWAPO COULD NOT ACCEPT THIS; IT HAD MAJOR RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE PROPOSALS.

5. THE CONTACT GROUP HAD NEVER TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT SWAPO'S RESERVATIONS THE PRESENT PROPOSALS ARE A REHASH OF THOSE WHICH WERE DISCUSSED AT THE PROXIMITY TALKS. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE WESTERN FIVE ALL ALONG HAVE BEEN WORKING TO PROTECT THEIR OWN AND SOUTH AFRICA'S INTEREST WITH LITTLE REGARD FOR THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA.

6. IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT, IF SWAPO FELT THIS STRONGLY ABOUT THE PROPOSALS, IT HAD A RESPONSIBILITY TO PUT ITS RESERVATIONS IN WRITING AND STATE CLEARLY THAT IF ITS RESERVATIONS WERE NOT MET THEN SWAPO REJECTED THE PROPOSALS. MUYONGO BACKED OFF, SAYING SWAPO WOULD SOON PUT ITS RESERVATIONS IN WRITING IN ITS RESPONSE TO THE PROPOSALS, BUT IT WOULD BE SEEKING CLARIFICATION ONLY.

7. MUYONGO ASKED WHAT GUARANTEES THE WEST WAS WILLING TO GIVE SWAPO THAT THEY CONSIDER WALVIS BAY A PART OF NAMIBIA. OUR REPLY THAT WE COULD NOT SPEAK TO HIS QUESTION AT THIS TIME WAS MET WITH DERISION. CLEARLY, HE TOOK OUR UNWILLINGNESS TO PROMISE GUARANTEES AS CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIRMATION THAT WEST COULD NOT BE TRUSTED. HE SAID, IF SUCH GUARANTEES WERE NOT FORTHCOMING SWAPO WOULD NEVER ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS.

8. COMMENT: THIS WAS ONE OF THE ROUGHEST SESSIONS WE HAVE HAD WITH SWAPO; DISTRUST WAS MANIFEST THROUGHOUT. IT LOOKED TO US AS IF SWAPO'S RESENTMENT OF OUR GOING TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL STEMMED FROM ITS CONCERN THAT IT MIGHT HAVE TO TAKE A STAND BEFORE SOUTH AFRICA HAS DONE SO. THEY DON'T LIKE THE PROPOSALS, SEEING THAT THEY DO NOT GIVE THEM AN IRON CLAD CERTAINTY OF GAINING POWER, BUT THEY WOULD PREFER THAT SOUTH AFRICA BEAR THE ONUS OF REJECTING THEM.
CLINGERMAN

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